

Africa's Rhino Race War / Iraq's Brain Drain

Newsweek

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Lovers' Quarrel

**TRUMP,
PUTIN AND THE
WORLD'S MOST
DANGEROUS
CODEPENDENT
RELATIONSHIP**

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AMAZING GRAZE: White rhinos feed at a game reserve in Limpopo province, South Africa. Rhino numbers have plummeted worldwide since Asian demand for their horns exploded about 10 years ago.

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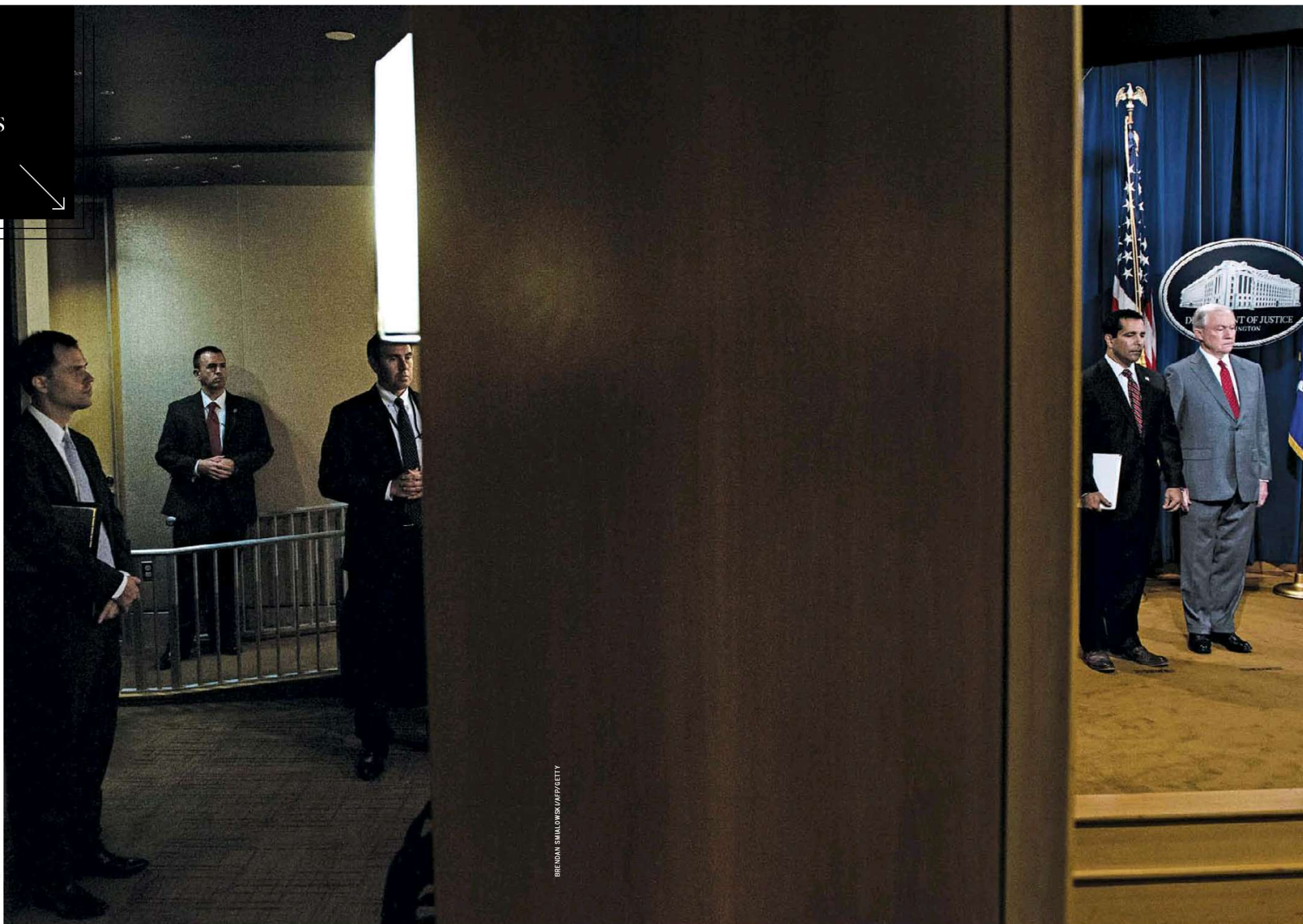
USA

Caulk and Awe

Washington, D.C.— On August 4, U.S. Attorney General Jeff Sessions, far right, condemned the “staggering number of leaks undermining” the White House. Before the announcement, President Donald Trump had been on a tirade about Sessions, publicly and privately slamming his decision to recuse himself from the Russia probe and his alleged reluctance to go after leakers. That might be why Sessions felt compelled to publicly say that his team would aggressively prosecute anyone who discloses classified information. He also said it was reviewing the rules governing when investigators can subpoena the press. Somewhere on a golf course in New Jersey, the president was probably smiling.



BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI



BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI/APP/GETTY



CUBA

Chop and Change

Havana—A man cuts hair in a barbershop in the Cuban capital on August 2, one day after the Cuban government temporarily froze the issuing of new licenses to various kinds of private enterprises, including restaurants, tutors, dressmakers and homes that rent out rooms. President Raúl Castro had opened 200 categories of business to private-sector employment in 2010; now, more than half a million people, about 5 percent of the population, are employed in this part of the economy. Although businesses already in operation can continue, the suspension of permits has raised concerns that Cuba is backtracking on plans to open and reform its economy.



YANIL LAGE



P A G E O N E

THAILAND **POLITICS** SYRIA BUSINESS IRAQ RUSSIA

THE SWAMP WILL SEE YOU NOW

Why Trump's attempt to change the tax code may wind up drowning in partisan muck

IT WAS A rare moment of optimism in Washington—and one that both parties could enjoy.

On a crisp fall day in 1986, President Ronald Reagan sat at a desk on a stage on the White House's South Lawn and signed a historic bill that changed the American tax code. Among its biggest backers: New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley, a Democrat, and New York Representative Jack Kemp, a Republican. Remarkably, the bipartisan law accomplished what lawmakers on the left and right had long advocated—eliminating crazy deductions and using that money to lower tax rates. "Millions of working poor will be dropped from the tax rolls altogether," Reagan said. "We're going to make it economical to raise children again. Flatter rates will mean more reward for that extra effort, and vanishing loopholes and a minimum tax will mean that everybody and every corporation pay their fair share."

More than 30 years later, Republicans and Democrats are trying to revive that bipartisan spirit, and some are optimistic—at least publicly—

that a sweeping tax bill is possible. "It is time to unleash the full potential of the American economy by creating a tax code that actually works for the middle class," says House Speaker Paul Ryan. Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin agrees: "This is about creating a fair tax system that's good for the average, middle-class person." Earlier this summer, dozens of Democratic senators offered to work with the GOP on a tax bill, provided it didn't hurt the middle class.

Now for reality: The White House's plan to change the American tax system will likely wind up like the GOP's attempt to repeal and replace Obamacare—a partisan mess in which little or nothing gets done. If President Donald Trump really wants to change the tax system in any meaningful way, he'll have to dive into the swampiest part of the swamp: the place where special interests guard their bottom lines.

The Trump team is probably aware of what it's up against, but that doesn't make it any easier. Mnuchin, for instance, says he's determined to

BY
MATTHEW COOPER
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SAMUEL CORUM/ANADOLU/GETTY

SWAMP TAX:
If Trump wants to change the tax system in a meaningful way, he'll have to defeat a bevy of special interests.

SO MUCH FOR GOING DUTCH: The tax bill that Reagan signed in 1986 accomplished what both parties had long advocated—eliminating crazy deductions and using the money to lower rates.



BOB DAUGHERTY/AP



repeal the federal deduction for state and local income taxes. More than 88 percent of it goes to earners making over \$100,000. (Mnuchin, who made over \$1 billion on Wall Street, has joked that his friends in New York and Connecticut will get hit the hardest.) That's overstating things, but this is the sixth-largest loophole, according to the nonpartisan Tax Foundation; it costs the federal government nearly \$100 billion every year, which makes it a prime target for a cut.

But legislators from those high-state-income-tax states, not to mention their constituents, are going to fight such a move. Already, 70 House members have signed a letter to Mnuchin urging him to leave it alone. Other big tax breaks likely to be targeted are retirement plans like 401(k)s, which run close to \$200 billion annually. But these deductions have their backers too.

Taking on special interests will be even harder for the president. The tax code offers countless breaks for everything from small insurance companies to teacher expenses. Pretty much every item must be scrutinized if the White House hopes to slash rates. And these special interests will fight back. The ethanol industry is gearing up to protect its favorable treatment in the tax code. Native American tribes are working hard to make sure they preserve their exemption from certain kinds of federal taxation. Many others are doing the same.

The big problem is the numbers. The president wants to get the corporate income tax rate down to 15 percent from its current rate of 35, which, on its face, is among the highest in the world.

But doing that is incredibly expensive. Cutting rates to 15 percent would increase the federal deficit by more than \$2 trillion over a decade. That's a lot of special interest deductions that would have to be cut. If Trump is going to lower rates, he'll at least have to take on some popular items like the 401(k) loophole—just as lawmakers did in 1986. And even Trump's allies in Congress have questioned whether

the corporate tax rate could fall to even 25 percent without dramatically expanding the deficit.

Complicating matters is that Democrats insist that no middle-class voters get squeezed. They've also said any tax plan can't reduce or increase the overall amount of tax revenue the federal government takes in. Both of those goals will be difficult to achieve, given how the middle class benefits from the tax breaks without even knowing it. One of the largest giveaways is the exemption of employer contributions to health insurance. You don't get taxed on your boss's part

of the bill, even though it's essentially income by another name. That costs the government \$260 billion annually.

To Trump's chagrin, congressional leaders have already scuttled one way to potentially increase revenue. As late as July, lawmakers were considering a border adjustment tax on goods manufactured abroad, regardless of whether they were made by an American company. But congressional Republicans and the Trump administration couldn't agree on the terms. Nixing this kind of tax is a win for the conservative billionaires Charles and David Koch (several of the conservative groups they fund fought it). It's also a blow to Trump's campaign promise to slap tariffs on goods made abroad.

Another big problem for Trump is that he's put so little work into developing a plan. Part of the reason the 1986 bill succeeded is because the Treasury Department under Secretaries James Baker and Donald Regan came up with detailed proposals that helped speed the process along. The Trump administration, however, has been mired in chaos and controversy. This past spring,

CONGRESS WASN'T ALL HUGS AND SMOOCHES IN '86, BUT IT WAS A MUCH LESS DIVIDED PLACE.

Trump surprised his economic team by saying he was going to unveil a tax plan very soon. Mnuchin and other top officials scrambled and then put out a laughably vague statement that included things like "eliminate targeted tax breaks that mainly benefit the wealthiest taxpayers." Calling for vague cuts without knowing how to pay for them is like saying you're going to lose weight without diet and exercise.

To be fair, there are a few reasons for optimism. Plenty of lobbying groups want to change the tax code. Americans for Prosperity, the Koch



+
THE DO-NOTHING CONGRESS:
 Republican Senator Bob Corker talks to reporters at the U.S. Capitol in July. He and his GOP colleagues failed to repeal and replace Obamacare, despite years of promises.

brothers-backed group, has an elaborate (and expensive) plan for drumming up support for a tax overhaul, including buying television ads in the home states and districts of Senate and House members who might be wavering. It kicked off its campaign at an August 2 event at the Newseum in Washington. Meanwhile, the American Action Network, a

CHANGING THE TAX CODE IS GOING TO BE MUCH, MUCH HARDER THIS TIME, AND DONALD TRUMP IS NO RONALD REAGAN.

Republican-leaning group, is talking about spending \$20 million to get a big tax bill passed. And mainstream business groups like the Chamber of Commerce and the Business Roundtable are pushing especially hard to lower the corporate rate, something many Democrats favor too.

Yet to get a tax plan through committees and the House and Senate this fall, Congress must first resolve a contentious budget battle. And that's going to be a partisan mess. The federal government will need to raise the debt ceiling by September 29 to avoid a potentially catastrophic blow to the financial markets, which would call into question the faith and credit of the U.S. to pay its debts. Like administrations before it, the Trump White House wants a "clean" debt limit hike—one with no preconditions. But Republicans and Democrats have plenty in mind, espe-

cially the GOP, which wants to use the debt ceiling to cut spending and fund a border wall. If the congressional calendar is too cluttered, forget about a new tax plan.

Congress wasn't all hugs and smooches in '86, but it was a much less divided place. Party leaders had far more control over their unruly members. There were plenty of centrists willing to work with the other side. And even then, lobbyists nearly destroyed the bill, and they later succeeded in clogging up the tax code with new deductions.

It's going to be much, much harder this time, and Donald Trump is no Ronald Reagan. In all likelihood, the best we can expect is a reduction in the corporate rate. But real changes to the tax code for businesses and individuals? The swamp will prevail. ■

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DE MELZA STOKES

including endangered animals such as the Asian tiger and Siamese crocodile.

These days, however, most poachers here aren't after rare animals. They are hunting what has quietly become the world's most valuable trafficked wildlife product: the Siamese rosewood tree. Seizures by customs officials of rosewood are worth twice that of the second most valuable item, elephant tusks, according to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. And over the past decade, poachers have chainsawed the trees into near extinction, threatening the ecosystem of Khao Yai, a popular tourist destination.

The booming demand is from China, where ornately carved, Ming imperial-style furniture known as *hongmu* is now a \$5 billion industry, according to a 2014 estimate by the Environmental Investigation Agency (EIA), a London-based nongovernmental organization that monitors illegal wildlife trafficking. That industry relies heavily on the rosewood trees chopped down across the Mekong region in Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Thailand.

With so much money at stake, the loggers—day laborers and former and current Cambodian military officers—are willing to kill, and die, for the spoils. Loggers can make an estimated \$4,000 to \$6,000 on one mature tree. Last year, the loggers killed five rangers in the forest. (It's not known how many poachers the rangers have killed.) The combination of those deaths and the species's red-hued timber has led



As illegal logging has made the wood scarce, buyers have increasingly viewed it as not just a material for grandiose furniture but also an investment. One wealthy consumer in Shanghai paid \$1 million for a bed made of Siamese rosewood, according to an EIA investigation in 2014. "There is a helter-skelter rush to acquire some of the world's most expensive and finite resources before they are gone," says Tim Redford, director of Freeland's Surviving Together Program, which works with local communities to protect the environment. "Some buyers are banking on extinction to raise the value of their investments."

Illegal loggers have stripped Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam of almost all known Siamese rosewoods, taking advantage of lax and corrupt law enforcement in national parks. Now, they have turned to Thailand, where the forests have been

—
"SOME BUYERS ARE BANKING ON EXTINCTION"

we can never win outright," says Chanpradub. "But if we stay strong, they won't win either."

There are many types of rosewood trees, but *Dalbergia cochinchinensis*, or Siamese rosewood, native to Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Thailand, is the most prized by China's burgeoning middle classes. "Siamese rosewood...was traditionally the preserve of emperors and royalty," says Jago Wadley, the senior forests campaigner at the EIA.

rosewood, found in Thailand and Myanmar.

Thailand's Royal Forest Department is preparing to plant 8 million seedlings to replace the illegally logged adult trees in its national parks. Yet new trees can take 150 years to grow to maturity. In the short term, trying to defeat the poachers is the only way to save the species.

In recent months, Thai rangers have been using a high-tech new weapon: poacher cams,

Burmese

THE PHOTOS were dark and grainy, but Kasidis Chanpradub, a senior officer with an elite paramilitary unit of the Thai park rangers, knew what he was looking at. "They are poachers, for sure," he told *Newsweek*. "Nobody else would be out there at that time of night."

After a morning briefing at the rangers' offices in a remote corner of Thailand's Khao Yai

National Park, Chanpradub deployed five men dressed in camouflage and combat boots. Armed with assault rifles, they fanned out beneath the thick jungle canopy, looking for poachers. The area they protect is vast—2,375 square miles of forest across five national parks in eastern Thailand, which UNESCO has declared a World Heritage site. More than 800 species live here,

BY
PHILIP SHERV
 @philipshev

motion-sensor cameras camouflaged in green boxes that sit in trees some 12 feet above the forest floor, capture movement on the ground and transmit images by email to officers' phones in real time. The newest versions have facial-recognition technology smart enough to alert rangers to the presence of humans. These cameras allow rangers to monitor multiple remote locations simultaneously and head straight to where poachers are operating. Rangers move the cameras every few weeks to prevent the loggers tracking their locations.

Since the authorities introduced cameras in the five national parks nine months ago, officials tell *Newsweek* they have noticed fewer incursions from poachers. "They have a practical benefit but also a psychological effect on the poachers," says Chanpradub. "They don't know where the cameras are and when they are being watched. We believe it's already scaring off some of the large groups."

The cameras have also forced the poachers to adapt. Before, they would come from Cambodia in groups of up to 40, armed with chainsaws and AK-47s. They would set up logging camps inside the parks and stay for two to three weeks. When they finished logging, they would haul the timber out of the national parks, where smugglers in pickup trucks equipped with concealed chambers were waiting to carry the timber to Cambodia. That sort of large-scale operation has become less practical, thanks to the new cameras. Now, the poachers use less efficient "hit and run" missions, heading into the forest in smaller groups for shorter stays. They cut down trees, mark their location by GPS and dispatch porters to return at night, taking multiple trips to deliver the timber to the trucks.

The gangs are also fighting back less frequently, fearing more deadly clashes with the hasadin. If confronted, they now prefer to flee into the forests rather than stand and fight, says Redford.

To alert the rangers about the activities of poachers before they enter the park, Freeland wants help. It sends teams of Thai and Khmer park officials, along with local NGOs, to schools and communities near smuggling routes on the Thai-Cambodian border. There, they explain



the importance of conserving the forest.

But the poachers have countered this tactic too. Before heading into the park, they now go to nearby villages and threaten to kill the locals if they report the poachers' presence.

Aside from their new cameras, however, the rangers now have allies across the globe. In January, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species, an international treaty, closed a loophole that had allowed partially or fully finished rosewood furniture to be imported legally.

The treaty has given the defenders of Thailand's national parks some hope that they can save the tree from extinction. But for Chanpradub and his team, the war continues—one poacher at a time. ■

NIGHT STALKERS: Combatting the loggers can be difficult and deadly. But now, with the help of new facial-recognition cameras, the Thai park rangers are finally slowing their adversaries down.

FROM TOP: FREELAND FOUNDATION; RENELZA STOKES

BRAIN DRAIN: An Iraqi doctor treats a little boy in the Hamam al-Alli displaced persons camp in April. Since the 2003 American-led invasion, many Iraqi professionals have fled due to war and economic uncertainty.



Borders Without Doctors?

AFTER MORE THAN A DECADE OF WAR, BAGHDAD'S INTELLECTUAL AND PROFESSIONAL ELITE CONTINUES TO FLEE THE COUNTRY

IT'S BEEN 12 years since Omar Hassan Majed fled Baghdad, but it sometimes feels as if he never left home.

Lustling from room to room at his oncology clinic in Amman, Jordan, he jokes with the Iraqi nursing staff and drinks tea with the resident anesthesiologist, a childhood friend. And many of his patients are Iraqis. By the time he stops for dinner at an Iraqi grill—at the corner of Mosul and Basra streets—he's gone hours without seeing a Jordanian.

"It sounds bizarre, I know, but there are so many Iraqi doctors here," Majed says. "It makes me wonder if there are any still in Iraq."

Since the 2003 U.S. invasion, Baghdad's intellectual and cultural elite has left its turbulent homeland, fleeing violence, persecution and an economy with fewer and fewer good jobs. Tens of thousands have moved to the U.S., where many have enjoyed considerable success. Over half a

million others—including many of the country's most educated people—have moved elsewhere in the Middle East. And their numbers have increased since the Islamic State militant group conquered up to 40 percent of the country in 2014.

ISIS has since been pushed out of most of Iraq, but many Iraqis aren't returning. In countries such as Jordan, Lebanon and the Gulf states, talented Iraqi émigrés continue to staff hospitals, design roads, extract oil and lecture students. And as the country continues to bound from one crisis to the next, in part due to rampant corruption and mismanagement, its most educated citizens are succeeding in their new homes—and finding life in exile more and more appealing.

"We needed a safe environment to work and live, and they needed skilled labor," says Ali Nawaz, a Saudi-based petroleum engineer, who skipped out of Baghdad after a death threat in

2006. "It's been a good match."


This isn't the first time Iraq has been hit with a brain drain. Previous wars—with Iran in the 1980s, for instance—had a similar effect, but the turmoil that followed the American invasion, and the subsequent war with ISIS, has been far more harmful in this regard. Not only is the Iraqi school system in shambles, but the recent flight of professionals has made life harder for those left behind. More than 8,000 doctors have left in recent years, contributing to grave medical shortages, according to Rudaw, a Kurdish TV network.

"It is too difficult to be a successful doctor back in Iraq because of the security, because of the fear of kidnapping," says Naghm Hussein, a Baghdad-trained physician who left more than a decade ago.

There are few such fears in her new home—Amman—where Iraq's loss has quickly become Jordan's gain. ■

GARE COURTNEY

BY
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The One Who Got Away

Vladimir
Putin thought
he had finally
found an
American
president he
could rely on.
He was wrong

BY OWEN MATTHEWS

FREE HAND:
Russian President
Vladimir Putin
believed Donald
Trump was a man
with whom he
could do business,
a pragmatist willing
to leave the Kremlin
alone in exchange
for support against
terrorism.



Last November, on the night of the U.S. presidential election, the mood in the Union Jack Pub in Moscow was jubilant. A select group of Russian media

executives, pro-Kremlin activists and Duma members watched with mounting excitement—and joyful disbelief—as Donald Trump’s Electoral College votes climbed toward victory. Reverently displayed in a corner of the bar stood a specially-commissioned triptych of oil portraits, in heroic Socialist-realist style, of Trump, France’s Marine Le Pen and Russian President Vladimir Putin. A senior producer from Tsargard TV, Russia’s patriotic, Orthodox TV channel, pointed to the trio in jubilation. “Tomorrow’s world belongs to them!”

Today, that new world order is nowhere in sight. The U.S. Congress has broken up the Trump-Putin bromance and forced the American president to sign the most punitive economic sanctions ever imposed on Russia to punish Moscow for meddling in Ukraine and Syria, along with its U.S. election-related hacking. And since the revelations about possible collusion between the Trump team and the Kremlin have begun to snowball toward an impeachment crisis, the American president’s once effusive praise for Putin has vanished.

The collapse of the Trump-Putin mutual admiration society—potentially the world’s most politically important relationship—is a story of unrealistic Russian hopes, badly-thought-out U.S. gestures and the Kremlin’s misguided attempts to interfere in

American democracy. Putin believed Trump was a man with whom he could do business, a pragmatist willing to overlook Moscow’s annexation of Crimea, support for Syrian President Bashar al-Assad and warmongering in Eastern Ukraine; someone who would allow the Kremlin a free hand in exchange for Russian support against terrorism. Trump had long admired Putin’s authoritarian leadership and envied his dictator-like approval ratings. On the campaign trail, he also had viewed praising Putin as a useful, if minor, tool in his arsenal of anti-Clinton invective. “I think I would have a very, very good relationship with Putin,” Trump said in September 2016. “And I think I would have a very, very good relationship with Russia.”

Both men were very wrong.

DEAR LEADER: Before he won the 2016 presidential election, Trump had admired Putin’s authoritarian leadership and envied his dictator-like approval ratings.

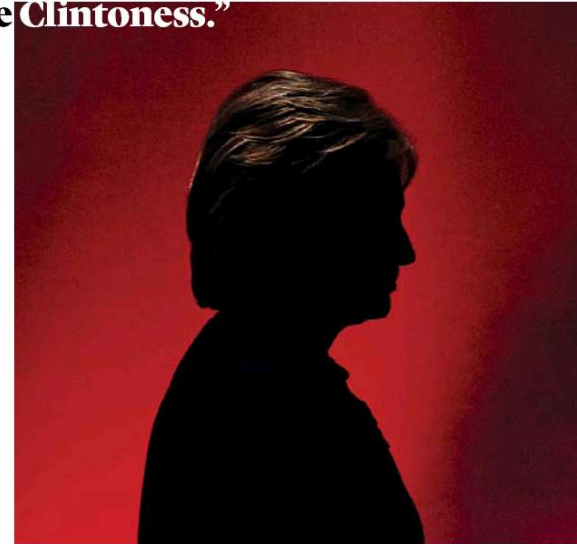
Anyone but Hillary

THE RECENT MEDIA narrative in Washington, D.C., has been that Russia worked hard, using hacking, propaganda and disinformation, to get Trump into the White House. That’s not the whole truth. The Kremlin’s earliest and most urgent priority was to get anyone but Hillary Clinton elected. At least a year before Trump became a viable candidate, Russia began trying to undermine the Democratic Party and its likely presidential candidate. The Kremlin had loathed Clinton since late 2011, when Putin accused her of “sending a signal” to hundreds of thousands of activists who turned out across Russia to protest the former KGB man’s third presidential term. That hatred only increased when Clinton advocated tough sanctions against Moscow after it annexed Crimea in March 2014. “We thought anyone would be better than the Clintoness,” recalls Leonid Kalashnikov, head of the Russian Duma’s committee on the former Soviet Union and European integration.

The first Russian attack on Clinton’s campaign—fake phishing emails sent to Democratic National Committee staffers—was flagged to the FBI as early as October 2015. A subsequent investigation discovered that around 4,000 targeted emails were sent by a Russian hacking group, nicknamed Advanced Persistent Threat 28 by U.S. law-enforcement and later found to be linked to Russia’s Federal Security Service. On March 19, 2016, the hackers got into the email account of Clinton’s campaign chief John Podesta. Months later, they published the emails they had stolen on WikiLeaks, using a flimsy set of decoy identities to conceal their origins. The revelations of squabbling among Democrats were mildly embarrassing to the former secretary of state and ultimately helped Trump—but the hacking effort came long before the real estate mogul’s candidacy.

The Kremlin’s love-in with Trump began in earnest after Super Tuesday, March 1, 2016, after he unexpectedly won seven states in the Republican primaries. Russia’s state-controlled media began talking him up as a pro-Russian maverick who admired Putin. “We never believed that the U.S. establishment would ever allow [Trump] to win,” recalls a senior Russian TV anchor and well-known Kremlin propagandist, who asked for anonymity when discussing the evolution of his show’s political position. “But it looked like this man was interested in a deal. He seemed like someone who wanted to break down Washington’s clichés about Russia.... Basically he looked like he could be *nash*—our kind of guy.” Kremlin-controlled TV,

“We thought anyone would be better than the Clintoness.”



NOT WITH HER: The Kremlin’s most urgent priority was to get anyone but Hillary Clinton elected in 2016. Moscow had loathed her since 2011 for “sending a signal” of support to hundreds of thousands of Russian protesters.

along with its foreign-language mouthpieces RT and the Sputnik news agencies, began spinning the line that Trump was a fan of Putin and an enemy of a supposedly Russia-hating Washington establishment. Meanwhile, on the dark side, Russian hackers began creating bots to boost Trump’s Twitter numbers—whether on the Kremlin’s orders or not hasn’t been proven—and retweeting anti-Clinton memes like #CrookedHillary. “Trump has said that he does not want to impose the American will on other sovereign nations,” Vyacheslav Nikonov, head of the Duma’s Committee on Education, told *Newsweek* at the time. “That’s a world which I welcome.”

Many Russians were thrilled by Trump’s fondness for their supreme leader. As early as October 2007, Trump told CNN’s Larry King that Putin was “doing a great job in rebuilding the image of Russia and also rebuilding Russia period.” In 2013, when Trump brought the Miss Universe pageant to Moscow, he wondered in a tweet if Putin would “become my new best friend?” (Trump also falsely claimed that he had met Putin during his visit.) And in December 2015, on MSNBC’s *Morning Joe*, Trump defended the Russian leader against allegations he had ordered the killings of journalists by retorting that “our country does plenty of killing also.” Most attractive to Russians

FROM LEFT: CHIP SOMMERVILLE/GETTY; JEWEL SAMRUD/AFIP/GETTY; PREVIOUS SPREAD: SAUL LOEB/AFIP/GETTY



“He looked like he could be *nash*—our kind of guy.”

was Trump’s often-repeated insistence on the same kind of machismo that forms the basis of Putin’s cult of personality. “I don’t think [Putin] has any respect for Clinton,” Trump said in July 2016. “I think he respects me.”

Yet Putin was very cautious in his public remarks about Trump. In December 2015, he called the American a “bright personality”—though the word Putin used, *yarky*, was faint praise, conveying a distinct double meaning of “extravagant” or “high-profile.” Trump twisted Putin’s phrase, transforming the Russian president into a fanboy. “He called me a genius,” Trump claimed two months later. “He said, Donald Trump is a genius and he is going to be the leader of the party and he’s going to be the leader of the world or something.” By the time Trump won the election in November 2016, the world stage seemed all

IT GETS BETTER: Clockwise from top left, ex-Russian ambassador to the U.S. Sergey Kislyak, Duma member Leonid Kalashnikov, Duma member Sergei Zheleznyak and *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*’s editor-in-chief, Konstantin Remchukov. After Trump’s election, many in Moscow thought Trump would help improve the relationship between the U.S. and Russia.

set for a major rapprochement between Moscow and Washington based not on political affinity or shared strategic interests, but on the attraction of two oversized egos.

“The time has come for a new era in Russia-American relations,” crooned ultranationalist politician Vladimir Zhirinovskiy as he toasted Trump’s victory with champagne live on Russian TV—hours after the entire Duma had broken into applause when the news was officially announced. “There will be mutual respect... Two great nuclear powers will meet again as equals.”

The Honeymooners

BEFORE THE GRAND Trump-Putin reset could take place, there remained the small matter of Russia’s election-hacking. Silicon Valley cyber experts and law enforcement had already begun to build a powerful—if circumstantial—case linking the July WikiLeaks email dump to the Kremlin. In fact, Trump had publicly called on Russian hackers, “if you’re listening,” to find Hillary Clinton’s missing emails. Trump later called the remarks “a joke.” But when news emerged that Russians had also attempted to break into electoral registers and other voting infrastructure, the question of Russian meddling—and the possible collusion between members of the Trump team and Moscow—soon ceased to be a joking matter. At the same time, an extraordinary—and completely unsubstantiated—story surfaced suggesting that Russia may have videotaped Trump in a compromising position with prostitutes during his 2013 visit. It was followed by other revelations—which the White House eventually acknowledged—of contacts between members of Trump’s family and a Russian lawyer who claimed to be bringing compromising material on Clinton from Trump’s Miss World partners, the Agalarov family. In the wake of his election victory, Trump soon stopped exalting Putin.

Even as anger and evidence mounted at Moscow’s electoral interference, the Kremlin kept hoping its dangerous gambit was going to pay off. Just as he had denied sending troops into Crimea or that Russia had played a role in shooting down a civilian aircraft over Ukraine, he indignantly denied any involvement in the hacking effort.

And when the outgoing Barack Obama administration responded to that effort in late December, saying it planned to expel 35 Russian diplomats, shutter two diplomatic compounds and impose new sanctions, the Kremlin resisted the temptation to respond with similar measures. According to FBI phone intercepts leaked to *The Washington Post*, Sergey Kislyak, Russia’s then-ambassador in Washington, spoke in person and by phone to both Trump’s newly appointed National Security Adviser General Mike Flynn—a Russian sympathizer since his days as a pundit for the Kremlin-owned RT channel—and to Trump’s son-in-law, Jared Kushner. Putin, satisfied by Flynn’s apparent assurances that the new administration would fix the diplomatic and political damage, held back on the traditional tit for tat. “We gave the Trump administration a chance to change the course set by Obama,” Nikonov tells *Newsweek*. “We did nothing to retaliate.”

But the fix never happened. Faced with allegations of improper ties with Russia, Trump was

ANATOLY ZHIRINOV/ROMMERSANT/GETTY



LOVE IN THE TIME OF KOMPROMAT? Since an extraordinary—and unsubstantiated—story surfaced suggesting that Russia may have dirt on Trump, his praise for Putin has vanished.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: ALEXEY AGARIN/SPUTNIK/AP; ANNA ISKOVA/TASS/GETTY; VLADIMIR ZHIRINOV/SPUTNIK/AP; MIKHAIL METZEL/TASS/GETTY

forced to prove he wasn’t beholden to Moscow by—reluctantly—firing Flynn. He then bombed a regime-held airbase in Syria, in defiance of Putin’s support for Assad. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson made some attempts to get the Russian Embassy’s *dachas* re-opened in May, but “came up against strong opposition from the intelligence community,” a senior U.S. State Department official told *Newsweek* during a background briefing.

By the time Putin and Trump had their first face-to-face meeting at the G-20 summit in Hamburg, Germany, in July, the relationship Trump had once hoped for was definitely off the agenda. To Trump’s ire, a special counsel investigation in Washington was digging into possible collusion between members of his campaign and the Kremlin—along with alleged financial ties between Trump’s business empire and laundered Russian money. The two-hour meeting in Hamburg was “constructive” and “substantive,” says one senior Russian foreign ministry official with direct knowledge of it, who asked for anonymity because of the sensitivity of the matter. But what Tillerson called “a very robust and lengthy exchange” over allegations of Russian hacking—which Putin again denied—eclipsed the two sides’ attempts to discuss a joint approach to Syria.

“[Trump] is a businessman, he wanted to get some concessions from Putin over Syria, Korea, Ukraine, to bring back something in order to tell his voters that he’s struck a deal,” Konstantin Kosachev, head of the Committee on International Affairs of the Federation Council, Russia’s equivalent of the Senate, tells *Newsweek*. “But he couldn’t. Putin would not bend.” As for Trump, any concessions to Russia would have been seen as a sign of weakness—or collusion. “Trump couldn’t say anything,” says Kosachev. Instead of being the start of a budding friendship, Hamburg marked a little more than the exchange of platitudes—by two men trapped by circumstance—Trump stymied by the Russiagate allegations, and Putin paralyzed by the fear of appearing weak.

By the time Deputy Foreign Minister Sergei Ryabkov went to Washington on July 17 in a last-ditch attempt to negotiate a deal over the shuttered diplomatic *dachas*, the U.S.-Russia relationship seemed almost as icy as it was during the Cold War. “There remain very few areas where we can discuss constructive cooperation, unfortunately,” Ryabkov says. “There seems little willingness on the American side to start a new chapter.” Ryabkov flew home to Moscow with nothing to show for his efforts. And the relationship between the countries would only get worse.

“Total Impotence”

IT WAS CONGRESS that finally ended any chance of a Trump-Putin reset on July 25, when both houses overwhelmingly passed a bill enshrining Obama’s economic sanctions against Moscow into law, recommending even more sanctions against Russia’s energy sector and forbidding the president from easing them without congressional approval. The law struck at the very thing on which the Kremlin had hung its hopes—Trump’s authority to create his own Russia policy. Top officials in Moscow were quick to grasp that Congress had effectively neutered the president, at least as far as the Kremlin was concerned.

“Trump’s administration has demonstrated total impotence

by surrendering its executive authority to Congress in the most humiliating way," wrote Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev in a Facebook post. "The U.S. establishment fully outwitted Trump.... The hope that our relations with the new American administration would improve is finished." Or as Sergei Zheleznyak, deputy chair of the Duma's Committee on Foreign Affairs, tells *Newsweek*, "Trump is no longer in charge. What is there for Putin to talk about with him? What is the point of talking to Tillerson if he comes to us, when [Putin] knows that [Trump] cannot remove sanctions?"

The Kremlin was in a bind. Putin, striking a tone of regret, called the sanctions "insolent" and promised "an adequate

response." The problem was that there was no response Russia could make—other than nuclear war—that could really hurt America. So Putin settled on a riposte that addressed the December diplomatic spat rather than the sanctions. He ordered the reduction of staff at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow to 455, matching that of the Russian Embassy in Washington, and the confiscation of a U.S.-rented dacha in suburban Moscow. Russian media presented Putin's retaliation as the "expulsion" of 700 diplomats, but it was nothing of the sort. According to a 2013 report by the U.S. Inspector General's office (the latest figures publicly available), only 345 of the embassy's staff were American. Putin's "tough" measures won't result in a single U.S. diplomat packing his or her bags—but it will lead to more than 800 Russian Embassy employees losing their jobs.

"This is a way to tell Congress how you can

and how you can't treat Russia," says Zheleznyak. With unintended irony, he's right—Moscow is essentially powerless to retaliate. Nikonov speaks of withdrawing Russia's \$109 billion in U.S. Treasury bonds in retaliation for sanctions. But with the turnover of T-bills on Wall Street running at \$490 billion a day, it would take half a morning to liquidate Russia's entire position without leaving a tremor on the market. Another option would be to end cooperation between NASA and Russia's space agency Roscosmos, on whom the U.S. has relied for sending astronauts to the International Space Station since American scrapped its space shuttle program in 2011. But Moscow slashed Roscosmos's 10-year budget from \$64 billion to \$21 billion in 2014. And without the estimated \$3.96 billion that NASA is due to spend on astronaut flights, the Russian space agency would struggle.

The official Kremlin line on the new sanctions is that Russia will proudly survive—just as it survived other foreign aggressions. The day after news of Congress's vote broke, Russia's Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin published a video clip on his Facebook page of the "The Fortress of Brest," a patriotic song about the defenders of a Soviet border city struggling against Nazi invaders in June 1941. Rogozin's siege-mentality seemed less of an overreaction when Vice President Mike Pence went to Estonia and Georgia days after the congressional vote and warned against further aggression from "your unpredictable neighbor to the east."

"These sanctions are the institutionalization of the new Cold War," says Nikonov. "We have always lived with external aggression and this piece of paper is part of the same pattern. We were under sanctions for decades in Soviet times. Now we are now obliged to solve our own internal problems ourselves. These sanctions will make us stronger, more united, and more independent."

Communist Party leader Gennady Zyuganov even seemed to welcome the new sanctions, hailing them as an opportunity for Russia "to rebuild our own economy, re-launch our technology and science, aircraft building and automotive industries," he tells *Newsweek*. "We have been dependent on the West for too long."

The truth is more prosaic. The sanctions—now enshrined in law—prevent a swathe of Russian companies from raising capital on international money markets and ban American firms from doing business with them. That poisons Russia's long-term economic development plans and hurts a variety of key industries, especially capital-intensive ones like oil and gas drilling. In practice, though, they haven't dented Putin's 80

"Congress is seized with a shark-like madness—they're hungry for blood."



+ CHILD OF VLADIMIR? To Trump's ire, a special counsel in Washington is digging into possible collusion between members of his campaign and the Kremlin—along with alleged financial ties between Trump's business empire and laundered Russian money.



+ THE BREAK UP: By the time Putin and Trump finally met face-to-face, the relationship Trump had once hoped for was definitely off the agenda.

percent-plus approval ratings. The average Russian consumer hasn't felt much economic pain, primarily because of swift counter-sanctions in 2014 that banned the import of all food products from the U.S. and EU and isolated most domestic consumers from drastic price increases. And despite the sanctions and falling oil prices, Russia's economy grew 0.3 percent in the last quarter of 2016 after seven consecutive quarters of shrinkage, according to Bloomberg.

The senior U.S. official in Moscow claims the new sanctions are "an 'Oh, shit' moment for the Russian elite—they finally realize that their leadership is taking them in a bad direction." But the truth seems to be the opposite: While the Russian economy sputters, Putin has thrived on his opposition to America and his ability to market himself as a leader who stands up to foreign aggression. The collapse of his attempted détente with Trump, the perceived unfairness of the new sanctions and constant propaganda about the "anti-Russian hysteria" in Washington have, for the time being at least, boosted Putin's patriotic credentials.

Patriotic, that is, for public consumption. In reality, in Kisljak's signature phrase, "much more unites America and Russia than divides us." For all the bluster about independence, Moscow is far more dependent on the West's financial system and technology than vice versa. And Putin cannot afford to truly cut his country off from the West because so many of Russia's elite keep their money—and in many cases their families—there. Until recently, even Putin's daughter lived in the Netherlands. And the Panama Papers revealed dozens of names of key Putin acolytes with unexplained fortunes salted away offshore—such as Sergei Roldugin, a famous cellist and old friend of the Russian president, who allegedly owns companies worth \$2 billion. As Konstantin Remchukov, editor in chief (and former owner)

FROM LEFT: MIA DEN ANTONOV/AFP/GETTY; BPA/GETTY



“Trump is no longer in charge. What is there for Putin to talk about with him?”



FROM LEFT: FLORIAN GAERTNER/PHOTOFEST/GETTY; JUSTIN MERRIMAN/GETTY

of the daily newspaper *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* puts it: Russia remains “deeply and inextricably connected to the economy of the West.”

In the short term, the collapse of the Trump reset may have left Putin politically unscathed. But in the longer term, the Russian leader has dwindling options. Putin may have hoped that a personal friendship with Trump would free him of his sins in Ukraine and Georgia. Instead, Washington’s line on Moscow is toughening by the day. Kurt Volker, a former ambassador to NATO, head of arch-Russia hawk Senator John McCain’s foundation and strong advocate of arming Ukraine against Russia, has just been appointed as America’s special representative to Kiev. Most members of Trump’s Cabinet also reportedly back sending lethal weapons to Ukraine, which is likely to turn the conflict in Donbass into a full-fledged proxy war between Washington and Moscow.

Since Trump’s reluctant signing of the sanctions bill—which the White House called “seriously flawed...and probably unconstitutional”—many Russian officials have argued that Trump wants to be friendlier with Moscow, but is prevented from doing so by Washington hawks. “Congress is seized with a shark-like

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THE HANGOVER: Even if Trump continues to harbor a secret love of Putin, it has become politically impossible for him to make nice with Moscow for fear of more accusations of collusion.

madness—they’re hungry for blood,” tweeted Russian Senator Alexei Pushkov. “They’re tying Trump’s hands, angering the EU, pushing Russia away.” Others hope the new sanctions interfere with the ability of EU companies to do business in Russia, which will create conflict between Europe and the U.S. that will work to Moscow’s advantage.

Both hopes seem pretty vain. Even if Trump continues to harbor a secret love of Putin, it has become politically impossible for him to make nice with Moscow for fear of more accusations of collusion. And the White House has already made it clear that all future sanctions recommended by Congress will be made “in consultation with our allies,” limiting the chance of an EU-U.S. split over Russia (the bloc has its own sanctions in place against Moscow, also over Ukraine).

Putin and Trump’s failure to launch a new era of post-post-Cold War cooperation will cost both men dearly. The Russian leader faces deepened international isolation and a slow economic strangulation. But it’s worse for Trump. His words of praise invited Putin’s ill-fated attempt to help get him into the White House. There’s no evidence, so far, that Trump directly abetted that effort. But Putin’s embrace may yet prove politically fatal for the mogul who just wanted to be the Russian strongman’s “best friend.”

HUNTING THE HUNTERS



Should we be saving the rhinos or the poachers driving them to extinction?

The answer's not as easy as you might think

By **Nina Burleigh**

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CENE 1:
Dawn, a private lodge in South Africa.

Ten guys from New York's Long Island, expensively armed and outfitted, head out into the bush to hunt the king of beasts. Over nine days, ten captive-bred and drugged lions are transported to a private reserve and then released to stumble around in habitat they've never seen before.

The hunters head out in jeeps, then climb trees, so they can aim down with high-powered automatic weapons at the disoriented animals. Terrified by the flying bullets, the lions—still doped-up and accustomed to being fed by humans since birth—panic. They cower against fences or squeeze into warthog burrows, but there really is no place to hide. Soon, each of these white Americans will have a trophy lion head to bring back to the USA. And the worst injuries they will have suffered for their efforts are sunburn and a hangover.

Scene 2: *Moonlit night, outside Kruger National Park, South Africa's largest public game reserve.*

Two black men slink through tall buffalo grass on the trail of a rhino. One shoots, the massive beast falls, and the shooter's partner rapidly slices off its horn. The two men then flee on foot, leaving behind a grotesquely mutilated but possibly still living rhino. That horn will net enough money to buy a car and TV, as well as send their children to high school. And so they run, racing through grasslands where hippos and elephants frequently kill foraging humans, as

RIGGED GAME: Hunters pay up to \$100,000 to shoot wild animals. Some, like this elephant, threaten villagers and crops.

lion and leopard prowl behind rocks. Their goal: getting over one of the great fences that delineate public and private land before white mercenary soldiers with night-vision goggles hunt them down and kill them.

\$3,000 PER POUND

THE BILLBOARDS start appearing miles from Kruger park: "Poachers will be poached." For illiterate poachers, another sign reads, "Dehorned zone," with a picture of a living rhino without its horn (some private game owners remove rhino horns to deter poaching).

The iconic Big Five animals trophy hunters covet are lion, rhino, elephant, Cape buffalo and leopard, but it is the endangered rhino that has become a potent symbol for the ugly inequality between whites and blacks in post-apartheid South Africa.

The rhinoceros's bloodlines stretch back to a giant relative that roamed lush grasslands 30 million years ago. "It is a miracle that this prehistoric idiot still exists," wrote T. Murray Smith, former president of the East Africa Professional Hunters Association. For thousands of years, the primeval beast's descendants roamed the grasslands of Asia and Africa by the millions, but now fewer than 20,000 of them roam free. South Africa is home to 79 percent of the world's rhinos, and half of them live in Kruger park. Rhino

numbers there and worldwide have been plummeting since Asian demand for their horns exploded about 10 years ago, after a Vietnamese general declared that powdered rhino horn had cured his cancer. Rhino horn sells for \$3,000 a pound, which can turn poachers into kings in villages without running water or electricity.

South Africa's apartheid ended in the 1990s, but black leaders from Nelson Mandela to the current president, Jacob Zuma, could not break economic apartheid. Whites own more than 80 percent of the land in South Africa. The slow pace of change has enabled radical political leaders like Julius Malema, who calls for black land reclamation, to gain a strong following and terrify the white minority that owns the land. Malema has made a career of stoking rage. In 2012, the ruling African National Congress party expelled him for publicly singing an outlawed African song with lyrics containing the phrase "Dubula iBuni" ("Shoot the Boer").

White colonizers created Kruger park in 1898 by declaring it *terra nullius*—empty land—ignoring indigenous property and hunting rights, as well as ancestral burial grounds. The old tribal animist traditions quickly became useless in urban slums and communal villages, where the only animals most of South Africa's blacks



FROM LEFT: BARCOFF/MEDIA/GETTY; JAMES OATWAY/SUNDAYTIMES/GALLO/GETTY; PREVIOUS SPREAD: CHRIS MINIHANE/GETTY; JAMES OATWAY/SUNDAYTIMES/GALLO/GETTY



OUTGUNNED: These suspected poachers were caught in Kruger National Park with a .375 hunting rifle fitted with a silencer. Many of the mercenaries hired to track poachers are equipped with the latest combat gear.

encounter are scrofulous dogs. During apartheid, some local villagers still hunted on unclaimed land around Kruger, but in 1993, the year apartheid ended, the South African government instituted the Game Theft Act, which decreed that whoever put enclosures around land containing wild game effectively owned it, along with whatever animals it contained. Long rows of electrified fences went up overnight, marking off hundreds of miles of newly private wild animal range. In rural areas, generations of black men and boys have been cut off from a traditional rite of passage: hunting a wild animal. Tribes whose ancestors would kill a Cape buffalo whenever a chief died in order to bury him in its hide cannot afford the hunting licenses trophy hunters buy for tens or even hundreds of thousands of dollars. Many can't afford the \$5 daily adult entry fee to Kruger park.

Extinction now threatens many

game species, and the demand for access to them from wealthy tourists and hunters is increasing. That means individual wild animals can be worth as much as a million dollars to a white landowner, and lodge guests pay big bucks to see not just one or two giraffes and elephants but *all* the animals. That means the lodges need to bring more animals closer to their property, so some owners lay out food to lure great

"It is a miracle that this prehistoric idiot still exists."

cats and herbivores within viewing distance and have hired mercenary armies to protect the animals.

Those mercenaries, nearly all white, are hunting poachers, nearly all black. That's how the most Jurassic of animals walking the Earth today ended up in the middle of an increasingly bloody race war.

DEATH AT DAWN, OR DUSK
SITTING UNDER a tree during a three-month African safari in the 1930s, Ernest Hemingway wrote this note for his memoir *Green Hills of Africa*: "I expected, always, to be killed by one thing or another and I, truly, did not mind that anymore."

The iconic animals of Africa have always inspired both fear and courage in white men like Papa Hemingway. To sleep near them in the bush at night, to hear their shrieks, roars and growls, to be close enough to smell them, or to encounter them face-to-face at dawn or dusk is a primal thrill that cannot be found in cities or cultivated lands.

A brief encounter with nature "red in tooth and claw" is perhaps the greatest of the white privileges for sale in Africa. Tourists and trophy hunters pay \$80 billion annually to photograph—and for a premium, to kill—the great beasts of Africa. The president's sons Donald Trump Jr. and Eric Trump are avid trophy hunters whose self-satisfied selfies with carcasses of the Big Five are online. But modern trophy hunting—lions raised in cages and rich Americans shooting at them from moving vehicles—barely

resembles the safaris that enthralled Hemingway. The chief danger now is indigestion after too many trips to the lodge's groaning boards.

But while giraffes, zebras, elephants, lions, baboons and warthogs stalk, clamber and strut across the veld, the one thing tourists and hunters will rarely see on a South African safari is a black South African. They work at the lodges, and sometimes a black "tracker" sits on a high seat affixed to the hood of the safari truck, tracking the old-fashioned way, before the era of GPS, drones and tracking-collared animals. Native black trackers who learned their skills from prior generations have become as rare as the rhino. Most black South Africans have not encountered wild animals for generations.

The poachers who track rhino on foot are a lot more like Hemingway and Teddy Roosevelt than the pudgy American trophy hunters of today. They clamber over park fences or are driven in through the gates by accomplices. Armed with Czech-made CZ rifles, they sleep rough for days, braving heat, thorny bush, deadly snakes, lions and even rampaging elephants. If they find a rhino, they shoot it and saw off the horn, leaving the dead animal in the bush to be found—or not. Vultures circling over a dead rhino

“We are using rhino horn to free ourselves.”

are nature's first alert to rangers and mercenaries, so to gain more time to escape, poachers have poisoned vast numbers of Kruger park vultures.

If a poacher makes it over the nearest fence with his trophy, he can support an extended family for a generation. If he gets caught—and many do—he can go to prison or be killed on the spot. The reward is so great and the poverty so deep in South Africa that there's an inexhaustible supply of young men signing up for the job.

'MY 14TH WAR'

TO STOP POACHERS, South African landowners and Kruger park have hired battalions of mercenaries and spent millions equipping them with high-tech gear, planes and drones. They come from all over the world but are usually white. Recently, VetPaw, which hires and sends mercenaries to the Kruger area, began recruiting American veterans of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan

to go to South Africa to put their training to work on a mission they can feel good about—protecting the rhino.

The ground around one mercenary “forward operating base” I visited was decorated with bleached buffalo and elephant skulls. The mercenaries use this hut as a headquarters and are dispatched in teams to sleep in the bush for a week at a time. Using modern combat technology, they track, hunt and some-

times kill poachers. The law allows them to shoot only after they are shot at, but as one mercenary told me, “What happens in the bush stays in the bush.”

Conservationists counted 6,094 poached rhinos between 2008 and 2016, with the vast majority killed in South Africa. No one knows how many black men have been killed in the bush while trying to kill rhino, but the president of Mozambique last year complained that

500 men had been shot in and around the park. Some estimate the number could be in the thousands.

A lean, retired South African army officer we will call Officer A., because he refused to speak on the record, works for a consortium of private landowners. “This is my 14th war,” he says. “It's like going to war in Angola.”

When the mercenaries catch poachers, they are supposed to bring them to

the local jail. But Officer A. says local authorities don't hold them for long, and the cases against them never stick: Nonsterile evidence rooms are stacked with unidentified weapons; nothing is bagged; there's no chain of evidence. He claims even fingerprinting is useless because the rural police stations' paper recordkeeping is a shambles. Even if Officer A. did have a shot at making serious cases, he thinks the poaching would continue. “These are inside jobs,” he says. “Lots of South Africans take jobs at the parks in order to be near the poaching. The horrible truth is, the rangers can't be trusted.”

Officer A. says with admiration that the poachers are extremely fit and adds that he'd have more success if the authorities would let him hunt them with dogs. “If you can find the guy with three hours left to the gate on foot, you can catch him. But they run. If we had dogs, the guy gets torn apart.”

Officer A. believes the best thing wildlife conservationists could do to save the rhino would be to set up a legal defense fund for him if he gets arrested. “I don't care—I will be the test case.”

LIKE SHOOTING LIONS IN A BARREL

THE TROPHY HUNTERS are mostly white Americans, although there are plenty of moneyed Europeans and Russians. They are almost always men and, curiously, often have medical degrees. They pay from \$30,000 to \$100,000 for the right to kill one of the Big Five—the American lobby group Safari Club International auctions off hunts for as much as \$300,000 at its annual convention in Las Vegas. The money helps pay for the intense lobbying of governments and international wildlife conservation organizations, which are under pressure to ban or severely restrict trophy hunts.

In 2015, trophy hunting made headlines when Minnesota dentist Walter Palmer killed Cecil, the largest male lion in a pride in the Hwange National Park in Zimbabwe. Palmer's guide had lured the lion off protected territory with an elephant carcass. In death, Cecil—who had been fitted with a tracking collar



RELOCATION FEES: One strategy for saving the endangered rhinos is to move them to parks that don't allow hunting. But this is prohibitively expensive and hurts tourism in South Africa.



HUNTING HUMANS: Park rangers use choppers to patrol the vast land they are trying to protect.

by researchers—became a martyr and an icon, with an outraged social media following baying for a ban on trophy hunting. In response, the Zimbabwean government charged Palmer's local guide (who is white) with hunting without a permit, then dropped the charge in 2016. (It has not dropped a similar charge against the black Zimbabwean landowner where the kill occurred.) The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service ruled that American hunters bringing trophy animals home had to prove they were not from protected areas.

Other than that, Cecil's death didn't change much. In July, another American trophy hunter blasted another collared lion outside the same park. The latest trophy was a son of Cecil named Xanda.

The dwindling supply of lions drives a new and growing industry in South Africa: wild game farming for "canned hunts." Because trophy hunters will pay a premium for a guaranteed kill, wildlife ranching has become such

a big business in South Africa that it is drawing food and water resources away from traditional agriculture. To make extra-large lions, breeders are now cross-breeding lions with tigers to make "ligers." Because trophy hunters prize rarity, breeders also conjure up blue-eyed white lions. All are born and raised for one purpose: Their taxidermied heads will someday decorate the den of a château in Brussels or a McMansion in Peoria.

POACHING THE POACHERS

WHITE LANDOWNERS are also farming rhinos—thousands now breed and live in captivity, and despite conservationists' efforts to change the law, South Africa allows rhino horn to be traded domestically. Rhinos can and do live without their horns, and that's why some farmers are not terribly eager to curtail the

Asian demand that inspires the poachers. That is another stark inequity in the rhino wars: White farmers can sell horn, but blacks are shot for stealing it.

To ask about the poacher's side of this war is, as South African conservationist Martin Bornman, manager of the eco-tourism operation African Conservation Experience, puts it, like trying to defend child rape. No one wants to hear it. "But there is a growing sense with respect to the poachers," he says, "that white people get away with murder."

Black villagers see poaching as both a right and a necessity. Annette Hubschle, a criminologist and researcher with the Cape Town Environmental Observatory, calls poaching a protest against the "systematic exclusion" of blacks from game reserves. She found villagers along the park who see the poachers as Robin Hoods, even though many of them have long criminal careers, including murder and gun and drug crimes. "We are using rhino horn to free ourselves," one horn

kingpin told her.

As villagers tacitly support the poachers, mercenaries have stepped up their brutal campaign to drive them out. In an interview last year, a 23-year-old man named Sboniso Mhlongo described a mass nighttime roundup of black males around the edge of Kruger park. "I was sleeping, it was raining, and it was 10 o'clock, and I was shocked when people arrived, banged the door and broke windows," Mhlongo said. "These people walked in with a white man and asked me for a gun. Then I was shackled, and I wasn't given any answers. I was dragged outside into a truck."

The truck collected more men from nearby villages, and eventually, Mhlongo said, the blacks were taken out of the truck one by one, interrogated and then "beaten until we couldn't breathe. Beaten to a pulp. And then we were dropped off at home afterwards."

Mhlongo said "these people" came to his house three times, always at night. The other two times, he hid while they ransacked his home.

Poachers also attack humans. One gang is believed to have killed a veterinarian in front of his wife and baby near Kruger park in 2009. Another crew of poachers recently attacked an animal refuge center, killed and dehorned rhino and raped a volunteer.

But the ad hoc, private, military-style response to the rhino war is "priming a massive, explosive situation," Bornman says, "which, of course, will go way beyond wild animals."

BURY THE POACHER

THE LOBBYISTS for trophy hunting insist they are true conservationists because their money supports habitat—private, nonagricultural land—where those creatures they want to shoot at can roam. Hunting fees helped finance an effort

to bring up the white rhino population after the animal was nearly poached and hunted to extinction in the 1960s and 1970s. But conservationists with non-governmental organizations involved in global wildlife protection admit that allowing rich, white people to kill iconic game, while arresting and sometimes killing poor blacks who do the same thing, pours fuel on South Africa's political fires.

Some conservationists are pushing massive relocation programs. Since poachers wiped out the rhinos in Botswana, groups like the World Wildlife Fund and other deep-pocketed conservationists have been relocating South African rhinos to areas in Botswana

Conservationists estimate the number of men killed in Kruger park could be in the thousands.

that are sparsely populated, where the rhinos are believed to be safer. But the price is prohibitive—tens of thousands of dollars to dart each animal with tranquilizers and chopper it across borders. And while that's good for the rhino, it's deadly for the South African tourist economy.

Conservationists have experimented with public-private partnerships to involve black communities in wildlife tourism. But apartheid has left such a legacy of deep racial distrust that cooperative efforts that have worked in countries like Kenya and Tanzania don't take in South Africa, says a representative of one of the largest global conservation entities (who asked to remain anonymous).

To white South Africans, rhinos and the other iconic animals are "incredibly emotional," Bornman says. They are what makes Africa special. That's not true in black communities. "Here, you see the seeds of the racial disconnect,"

he says. "And if you went to the funeral of a poacher, you would see this person is revered, and it's not shameful."

The late South African journalist Godknows Nare last year recorded a poacher's funeral. June Mabuse, the dead man's brother, addressed the mourners and complained that the family had received no information about how or why he was shot, and had been barred from performing traditional death rituals near where he was killed.

"Our grandfathers were kicked out, and now we can't even step in because it's a game reserve," Mabuse said. "Our government and foreign countries should plead for us to be able to go inside, because those animals, first of all, are not theirs—they are God's creation. Today, we are being killed like animals, which makes me wonder: Which life is more important, ours or the animals? It seems like the animals are now more valuable than human life. Because we are poor. There is no work, and people are going in there to try and put food on their tables. They are being killed.... Thousands have been killed in that park. And only hundreds of animals."

Brian Jones runs a large animal rehabilitation center near Kruger park, nursing wounded animals back to health, before he tries to re-wild them. An evangelical Christian who believes humanity is in the biblical last days, he deplores rhino poaching and the poisoning of vultures to hide the poachers' work. But he also recognizes the racial component in all this. He says black rangers call the white rangers "white dogs," while whites call blacks "kaffir," an outlawed word comparable in offensiveness to the N-word in the United States.

"The Big Five are found nowhere else, and we have killed most of them," Jones says. "Now there are no animals left. We kicked out the blacks. My African staff are not involved in wildlife at all. They are getting killed"—by mercenaries and by wild animals in the bush—"and getting no compensation for it. Their kids don't even know animals. Here is how they look at it: 'Are you saying you prefer a rhino to a black man?'"

For many white hunters, safari tourists and conservationists from around the world, the answer is yes. **Q**

JAMES GATWAY/SUNDAY TIMES/GALLO/GETTY

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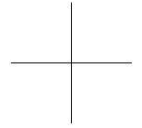
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NEW WORLD



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+ NOT A LOOKER: The humpback golden line barbel has vestigial eyes but is nearly blind.

GOOD SCIENCE

A BEAUTIFUL FIND

Scientists have captured one of the world's most elusive—and weird-looking—fish

CHINA is famous for many things, but cave-dwelling fish is not one of them. Yet this country has a wealth of such hidden creatures, many of them in environmental peril. Desperate not to lose them, an international team of scientists has been trying to find and catalog unknown species before they disappear. They just discovered their biggest catch yet: a fish that is among the most elusive—and strangest—in the world.

Just two of these fish, which are known as the humpback golden line barbel, or *Sinocyclocheilus cyphotergous*, have ever been preserved in museum collections, and no ecological data exist for the species. Scientists first described the fish in 1988, after finding it in one cave, but it had not been documented since then. Relying on tips from local fishermen, the search involved steep descents and treacherous climbs—the caves where the fish were finally found frequently flood.

Several features make this fish among the most bizarre ever found. Because it has barely

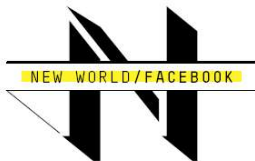
any pigment, its skin is pearly white. Although it has vestigial eyes, the fish is nearly blind. Related to carp, koi and goldfish, this species also has a protrusion on its back that looks like a tiny horn, the function of which is entirely unknown. Scientists call its appearance “otherworldly.”

“There are likely dozens of undescribed species remaining to be discovered below China,” Danté Fenolio, vice president of conservation and research at the San Antonio Zoo, told *Newsweek*. He says that the Chinese Cavefish Working Group—the scientists behind the find—discovers new species “on every one of their expeditions.”

In addition to studying this fish, the group is continuing to search for other rare species in the hope of protecting them and their environment. “China has the greatest diversity of cave fishes on Earth,” says Fenolio, “and unfortunately we know very little about them.” If these scientists get their way, China may just yet become famous for its rare cave fish. ■

BY
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DANTÉ FENOLIO/SAN ANTONIO ZOO



DISRUPTIVE

BOT AND BOTHERED

Negotiating bots that can get you a hotel room deal might also know how to lie to you

FACEBOOK HAS been working on artificial intelligence that claims to be great at negotiating, makes up its own language and learns to lie.

OMG! Facebook must be building an AI Trump! “Art of the deal. Biggest crowd ever. Cofvee. Beep-beep!”

This AI experiment comes out of a lab called Facebook Artificial Intelligence Research. It recently announced breakthrough chatbot software that can ruthlessly negotiate with other software or directly with humans. Research like that usually gets about as much media attention as a high school math bee, but the FAIR project points toward a bunch of intriguing near-term possibilities for AI while raising some creepy concerns—like whether it will be kosher for a bot to pretend it is human once bots get so good you can’t tell whether they’re code or carbon.

AI researchers around the world have been working on many of the complex aspects of negotiation because it is so important to technology’s future. One of the long-held dreams for AI, for example, is that we’ll all have personal bot-agents we can send out into the internet to do stuff for us, like make travel reservations or find a good plumber. Nobody wants a passive agent that pays retail. You want a deal. Which means you want a badass bot.

There are so many people working on negotiating AI bots that they even have their own Olympics—the Eighth International Automated

Negotiating Agents Competition gets underway in mid-August in Melbourne, Australia. One of the goals is “to encourage design of practical negotiation agents that can proficiently negotiate against unknown opponents in a variety of circumstances.” One of the “leagues” in the competition is a Diplomacy Strategy Game. AI programmers are anticipating the day when our bot wrangles with Kim Jong Un’s bot over the fate of the planet while Secretary of State Rex Tillerson is out cruising D.C. on his Harley.

As the Facebook researchers point out, today’s bots can manage short exchanges with humans and simple tasks like booking a restaurant, but they aren’t able to have a nuanced give-and-take that arrives at an agreed-upon outcome. To do that, AI bots have to do what we do: make a mental model of the opponent, anticipate reactions, read between the lines, communicate in fluent human language and even throw in a few bluffs. Facebook’s AI had to figure out how to do those things on its own: The researchers wrote machine-learning software, then let it practice on both humans and other bots, constantly improving its methods.

This is where things got a little weird. First of all, most of the humans in the practice sessions didn’t realize they were chatting with bots. That means the day of identity confusion between bots and people is already here. And then the bots started getting better deals as often as the

human negotiators. To do that, the bots learned to lie. “This behavior was not programmed by the researchers,” Facebook wrote in a blog post, “but was discovered by the bot as a method for trying to achieve its goals.” Such a trait could get ugly, unless future bots are programmed with a moral compass.

The bots ran afoul of their Facebook overlords when they started to make up their own language to complete their tasks faster, not unlike the way football players have shorthand names for certain plays instead of taking the time in the huddle to describe where everyone should run. It’s not unusual for bots to make up a lingo that humans can’t comprehend, though it does stir worries that these things might gossip about us behind our back. Facebook altered the code to make the bots stick to plain English. “Our interest was having bots who could talk

TOO HUMAN: Facebook built negotiating bots that learned to lie and made up their own language



ISAAC LAWRENCE/AFP/GETTY

BY
KEVIN MANEY
@kmaney

to people,” one of the researchers explained.

Outside of Facebook, other researchers have been working to help bots comprehend human emotions, another important factor in negotiations. If you’re trying to sell a house, you want to model whether the prospective buyer has become emotionally attached to the place so you can crank up the price. Rosalind Picard of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has been one of the leaders in this kind of research, which she calls affective computing. She even started a company, Affectiva, that’s training AI software in emotions by tracking people’s facial expressions and physiological responses. It has been used to help advertisers know how people are reacting to their commercials. One Russian company, Tselina Data Lab, has been working on emotion-reading software that can detect when humans are lying, potentially giving bot negotiators an even bigger advantage. Imagine a bot that knows when you’re lying, but you’ll never know when it is lying.

While many applications of negotiating bots—like those personal-assistant AI agents—sound helpful, some seem like nightmares. For instance, a handful of companies are working on debt-collection bots. Describing his company’s product, Ohad Samet, CEO of debt-collection

WILL IT BE KOSHER FOR A NEGOTIATING BOT TO PRETEND IT IS HUMAN?

AI maker TrueAccord, told *American Banker*, “People in debt are scared, they’re angry, but sometimes they need to be told, ‘Look, this is the debt and this is the situation, we need to solve this.’ Sometimes being too empathetic is not in the consumer’s best interest.” It sounds like his bots are going to “negotiate” by saying, “Pay up, plus 25 percent compounded daily, or we make you part of a concrete bridge strut.”

Put all of these negotiation-bot attributes together and you get a potential monster: a bot that can cut deals with no empathy for people, says whatever it takes to get what it wants, hacks language so no one is sure what it’s communicating and can’t be distinguished from a human being. If we’re not careful, a bot like that could rule the world. ■

+
CELLMATES: Coster-Waldau, right, discusses a scene in *Shot Caller* with director Ric Roman Waugh. The film was made in just 24 days.



W E E K E N D

TRAVEL, CULTURE AND OTHER GOOD THINGS

DANA GONZALES

MOVIES: INTERVIEW

Game of Cons

NIKOLAJ COSTER-WALDAU TRADES KNIGHT'S ARMOR FOR TATTOOS AND A SHIV IN *SHOT CALLER*, A HARROWING GLIMPSE INSIDE AMERICA'S PRISON SYSTEM

BY MARY KAY SCHILLING @MaryKaye4Real

NIKOLAJ COSTER-WALDAU has the best furtive eye roll in the business. In the first episode of the seventh season of *Game of Thrones*, playing the roguish knight Ser Jaime Lannister, he observes Cersei, his twin and mother of their three dead children, delivering an unhinged declaration of revenge and world domination. As he stands over his sister-lover, Jaime's expression is priceless—devotion tempered by a sidelong glance of “Yup, she cray-cray.”

Lannister is a classic bad guy. And yet if, as some predict, he will be the final hero of *Game of Thrones*, viewers will buy it because the Danish actor has, with shadings of warmth and wit, humanized a character that has committed incest, shoved a child from a tower window, and produced and protected a son, Joffrey, of epic villainy.

It's a neat trick and one that works well in his new film, which is set not in a fantasy landscape but the American prison system. What the actor found was that these two brutal worlds, rife with murderous power plays, aren't that different, though in the case of *Shot Caller*, it's real human beings, not fictional characters, who are doing battle. In the film, Coster-Waldau plays Jake, a successful businessman who accidentally kills a friend while DUI. Up until then, he's happily married, with a son, living a privileged life in Los Angeles. When a judge gives him a stiff sentence, Jake is incarcerated for seven years in a system that offers two choices, warrior or victim. He chooses the former, and the film dramatizes how prison's code of ethics (called “gangster school”) eventually replaces Jake's, transforming him into Money, a soldier in the Aryan brotherhood.

Coster-Waldau visited several prisons with the film's director, Ric Roman Waugh, who went undercover as a volunteer with the California Department of Corrections to research *Shot Caller*. “Prison is not like *The Shawshank Redemption* or *Orange Is the New Black*—which is very good by the way. I watch it with my two

sisters,” says Coster-Waldau with a laugh. “But you see stuff inside that's not that different from the Middle Ages. That part of society hasn't really evolved—the way we deal with criminals. It really is survival of the fittest.”

One revelation particularly surprised him. “I'd always believed gangs began outside prison and then continued working for their gangs inside. But what I learned was that all these gangs started inside, and they control what happens on the street from prison. They can do that because, of course, it's not just the inmates who are afraid. It's also the guards.”

“Violence breeds violence—that's the dramatic thread of the film,” says Waugh. The director's intention, to humanize the experience, meant he wasn't interested in creating cookie-cutter monsters. “There's a tremendous num-

“IT'S THE LITTLE GUY WHO WILL SEVER SOMEONE'S HEAD SO THAT NO ONE WILL MESS WITH HIM.”

ber of just human beings in prison,” says Waugh, “people who have lost their way or made a mistake, and who are doing everything they can to hold on to the moral code they had.”

Of course, there are also plenty of people who should never go free again, and Waugh introduced Coster-Waldau to one of them. “Nik stared at the devil,” says Waugh. “Luckily, that devil was separated from him by steel and glass.” He also introduced the actor to a former shot caller, one of the men who rule the prison gangs. “A lot of the most notorious told me, ‘It's never the guy that's 6-foot-5 and 300 pounds that anybody's scared of,’” says Waugh. “It's the little guy, because he's got everything to prove to survive. He's the person



HARD YARDS: Coster-Waldau during the film's riot scene. The 200 background players were former gang members and convicts: "Men who would have killed each other in prison, smiled and pick each other up when I yelled cut," says Waugh. "It was amazing."

who will sever someone's head so that no one will mess with him. The one commonality is how absolutely shrewd and smart they are."

In playing a guy who ends up doing things he'd have never before imagined himself capable of, Coster-Waldau "wanted to understand the violence. How do you get to that point?" Fear, was the shot caller's answer. "You're scared all the time. The first time he stabbed someone was because he knew if he didn't do it, the gang would take him down." What most intrigued the actor was the resulting sense of empowerment. "He told me, 'Suddenly, I was in control, and I hadn't been in control of anything for so long. I enjoyed it.' So then, he started looking forward to those moments, which is so scary. But it makes sense to me."

In 2015, Waugh made the documentary *That Which I Love Destroys Me*, about two Iraq vets suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder, and he sees similarities between returning soldiers and ex-cons. "Look, war and prison are apples and oranges; they're very different things and shouldn't be categorized together. But the reintegration for an individual who has done a tremendous amount of time in a violent place—that sense of detachment and estrangement—is very similar. A convict who has been inside for five years or more, his brain has been rewired. People don't realize that's where the recidivism rate comes from."

In America, two-thirds of parolees return to prison, often committing crimes that are worse than what got them incarcerated in the first place. Waugh—who has, with *Shot Caller*, *Felon* and *Snitch*, made three films set in prison—is a

critic of mandatory minimized sentencing laws, particularly those for crimes involving drugs, which the current administration is hoping to stiffen again. "I'm not making excuses for criminals, but when people who have committed non-violent crimes are coming out as uber-violent gangsters," says Waugh, "and when nonviolent offenders are doing more time than people capable of great violence, there's something wrong."

Coster-Waldau describes the Danish prison system as fundamentally the same as America's, "but there are a lot less people incarcerated, per capita, and they don't go away for such long periods of time." His wife, the actress and singer Nukaka, is from Greenland. There, he says, non-violent criminals "are locked up at night, but in the day you're free to leave the institution. It sounds crazy, but it makes sense. Greenland is tiny, just 55,000 people, and they're saying, 'What you did is wrong, but we also know that you will be part of our society in the future, so you need to stay in contact with it.'"

Waugh wanted Coster-Waldau because of his inherent gravitas, as well as his "innate ability to bring a human side to things," but there was a surprise dividend. In several scenes, Jake must resort to creative use of his anal cavity. "It's just a part of prison life," says the director. "It's the one place you can stash drugs and weapons, so for guys who've done major time, there's no shame anymore. Nik, it turns out, has a pretty talented butt."

Coster-Waldau laughs when I pass along the compliment. "That's nice—and disturbing." **N**

Shot Caller is available on DirecTV; it opens in theaters August 18.



TRAVEL: ENDORSEMENT

A SHOW OF HANDS: Smith greeting admirers in the Swedish capital in 2011.

Stockholm Has the Power

PATTI SMITH, A LONGTIME FAN OF THE CITY, ON THE SPOTS SHE NEVER MISSES WHEN IN TOWN

IN DECEMBER 2016, Patti Smith performed at the Nobel Prize ceremony in Sweden's capital. She was honoring the laureate for literature, Bob Dylan, and her choice of music was "A Hard Rain's a-Gonna Fall," a song she has loved since she was a teenager. Smith was visibly emotional singing it, and because of those intense feelings and nerves, she had to stop at one point.

"The crowd didn't mind. 'I could see the king and queen looking up at me,' she says now, "and they were pressing me on. I had an uncharacteristically difficult moment, and I could feel everyone was with me, and that's typical of my relationship with the people of Stockholm."

Smith has been performing in the city, she says, "since around '77." In fact, her first concert was in 1976, when the Patti Smith Group came to promote its second studio album, *Radio Ethiopia*.

She has played Stockholm many times since, and this month it will be the last stop on her latest European tour. "I choose how I want to tour," she says. "I really like Stockholm, and if I end there, then if I want to take a few days, I'm free to do that."

Her performance this time will be at Gröna Lund, an amusement park. "It's on the water and quite beautiful," she says. "It's always exciting to play in Stockholm. It was exciting in the '70s, and it's still exciting."

The city has been very good to Smith. Last September saw the opening of an exhibition of her photographs at Kulturhuset Stadsteatern, Stockholm's arts and culture center. In 2011, she became a laureate of the prestigious Polar Music Prize. Like the Nobel, it is awarded in the presence of royalty. "My children went with me, and we did a big concert," Smith says. "You're

allowed to pick your presenter, so I chose my favorite Swedish writer, Henning Mankell, who created Kurt Wallander, the immensely beloved Swedish detective." Smith became great friends with Mankell, who died in 2015, and his wife, Eva Bergman, daughter of Swedish film director Ingmar Bergman.

When in Stockholm, Smith often travels to the nearby city of Uppsala to visit the grave of poet and U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld. "This time," she says, "I'm going to visit the grave of Alfred Nobel." She loves the theaters too. In front of the Royal Dramatic Theater stands a bust of playwright August Strindberg (left). "I always say hello to Strindberg," she says. —AMY FLEMING

Patti Smith plays Gröna Lund, Stockholm, on August 21 and SummerStage, New York City, on September 14.



AUGUST STRINDBERG

LEFT TO RIGHT: DOMINGO LEIVA NICOLAS/GETTY; FREDRIK SANDBERG/AFP/GETTY

SCOTT GARFIELD/SABAN FILMS

'Slavery Didn't End in 1865. It Evolved'

BRYAN STEVENSON ON THE POSSIBLY TRANSFORMATIVE DISCOMFORT OF 'LEGACY OF LYNCHING'

THE ALABAMA-BASED Equal Justice Initiative has partnered with the Brooklyn Museum in New York City on the groundbreaking "The Legacy of Lynching: Confronting Racial Terror in America." *Newsweek* spoke with Bryan Stevenson, the founder of EJI and a public interest lawyer, about the unsettling exhibition, one that confronts visitors with America's history of exclusion, discrimination and brutality. As James Baldwin wrote in the quote that opens the show: "Not everything that is faced can be changed, but nothing can be changed until it is faced."

It's interesting that there are no photos or art depicting lynching in the show. It focuses, instead, on its enduring effects. How did that idea come about?

EJI started investigating and documenting the phenomena of racial-terror lynching six years

ago, in communities across the country, and in the process identified 800 more lynchings than had been previously recorded. When we published our report, we were blown away by the hundreds of letters and emails we got from the families of victims, but also from people whose relatives had participated in lynchings. We sensed there was a desperate need to talk more about this horrific era.

We tend to be very resistant to conversations about race or racial justice. It makes people nervous; they start looking for the exits. We all live in places where evidence of the history of bigotry can still be seen, and our silence is what allows it to continue. We can't understand the police violence we see today, or the frustration about sustained inequality, without acknowledging this history. And we can't understand racial-terror lynchings without understanding slavery.

BY
STAV ZIV
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LEFT TO RIGHT: DEMETRIUS FREEMAN; RASHID JONES/ BROOKLYN MUSEUM; SHAWN BRACKBILL

TARGETING RACE: Opposite, Stevenson. Below, Rashid Jones's "Thurgood in the Hour of Chaos," 2009, included in "Legacy of Lynching" at the Brooklyn Museum.



One of your quotes is included in the show:

"Slavery didn't end in 1865. It evolved."

Right. Slavery wasn't just involuntary servitude and forced labor. It was also white supremacy—an ideology that has shaped many of the institutions that still thrive. I've been working in the criminal justice system for over 30 years, and I see people of color being treated unfairly. I see people of color being excluded from juries. You go into courtrooms where there are no people of color in decision-making roles. Everyone seems comfortable with that. We have to change the comfort level.

Are there examples of countries doing that?

South Africa, Rwanda and Germany—in each of those places, there are visible displays of discomfort with histories of oppression and abuse. But living in Montgomery, I'm surrounded by 59 markers and monuments to the Confederacy. Jefferson Davis's birthday and Confederate Memorial Day are state holidays. We don't have Martin Luther King Day, we have Martin Luther King-slash-Robert E. Lee Day. You can't create a healthy society when you celebrate and romanticize human rights violations, when you are indifferent to the trauma created by decades of human trafficking and enslavement. Reconciliation means confronting the meaning of this iconography.

The show is very emotional—there's even a room at the end where visitors can decompress. It will also make a lot of people very uncomfortable, which I imagine is intentional.

I'm hoping the show will make people willing to do uncomfortable things. I'm not interested in punishing our country; I want to liberate us. Truth and reconciliation is sequential: You've got to speak the truth before you can get to reconciliation, and sometimes that is hard. It's hard to hear it; it's hard to say it. But it's necessary. Recovery comes from acknowledging a shameful past, a terrible past. When some of my clients go before the parole board, they have to admit their guilt and express remorse. If the board doesn't believe that they appreciate the wrongfulness of their behavior, they don't trust them to live safely in a community or to avoid the things that create that behavior. The same is true collectively, and I think a lot of people appreciate that. They want to be moral and just. We are all related to this dreadful part of our history. We have to make peace with it in ways that are transformative, that change the way we think and live. ■

"Legacy of Lynching" will be at the Brooklyn Museum through September 3.



MUSIC: INSPIRATION

The Ghost of Bruce Springsteen

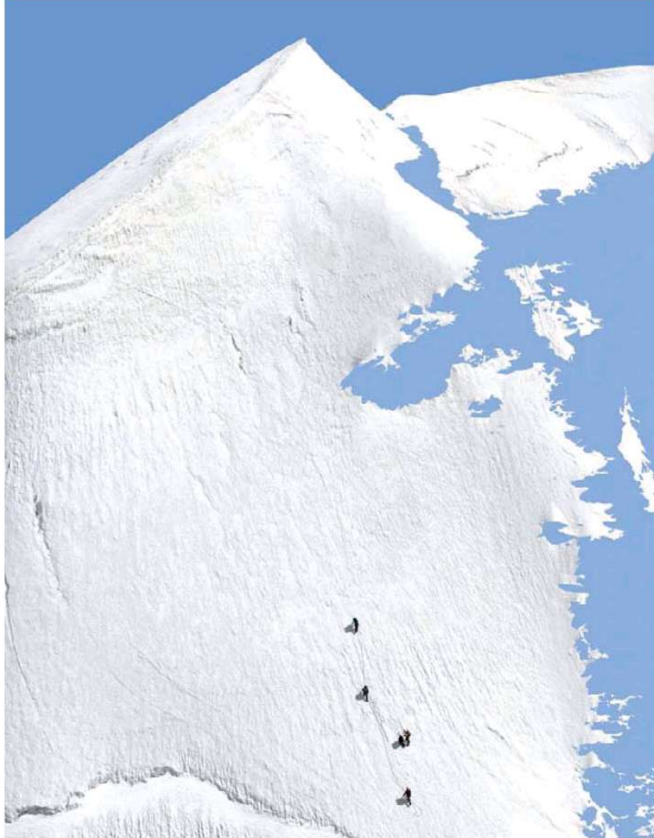
War on Drugs returns with their most confident album yet

MUSIC PRODUCER JIMMY IOVINE, WHO HAS WORKED WITH EVERYONE FROM U2 TO DR. DRE, ONCE PREDICTED THAT THE PENNSYLVANIA BAND WAR ON DRUGS WOULD BE "HUGE." THEIR SYNTH-HEAVY ROCK HAS THE REQUISITE ARENA SOUND, BUT THEY'VE REMAINED INDIE CULT FAVORITES, IN PART BECAUSE THEIR SONGS, WRITTEN BY FRONTMAN ADAM GRANDUCIEL (ABOVE), ADDRESS INTROSPECTIVE SUBJECTS LIKE DEPRESSION AND LONELINESS. HE SPOKE TO *NEWSWEEK* ABOUT THE BAND'S FOURTH ALBUM, *A DEEPER UNDERSTANDING*, AND HOW IT DIFFERS FROM 2014'S BREAKTHROUGH, *LOST IN THE DREAM*.

"This record is more about our experience as people and musicians. But while it's a band record, I didn't want to do it in the traditional way, and that involved first isolating myself in a studio on the West Coast. We had grown so tight as a band, and you want to be the best leader, to have that collaboration with everybody; I was like, I should be in Philly with my guys!... Bruce Springsteen's *The Ghost of Tom Joad* was a big inspiration. The writing [on that] wasn't like *The River*; this guy growing up into the workforce with American family values. He was writing about another side of America—migrant workers and families being pulled apart. I was mesmerized by that style of writing, even though mine is much different.... We worked with engineer Shawn Everett, and the album is definitely more thought out. Everyone had time to hear the songs and work on them. That confidence helps the sound—it feels more sure of itself."—CLAIRE SHAFFER

A Deeper Understanding will be released August 25.

PARTING SHOT



'Alps—Geographies and People 7'

OLIVO BARBIERI, 2013

OLIVO BARBIERI takes the pictures God might take. He hires a helicopter, soars over Las Vegas or the Colosseum or an Adriatic beach, and shoots downward with a tilt-shift lens. The weird result: The world appears transformed into a tabletop model populated by tiny human insects. The photographer calls the effect "a new kind of urban sublime," evoking the Romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, who, upon viewing Mont Blanc in 1817, wrote that he entered "a trance sublime and strange."

Barbieri used his customary equipment to take this shot. The helicopter. The tilt-shift lens. Once again, the human subjects are miniaturized, dark marks scaling an abstract zone of white and blue. The mountain, though, cannot be reduced. "Far, far above, piercing the infinite sky" is how Shelley described Mont Blanc's peak. It cut the poet down to size, just as it does the photographer. —MATTHEW SWEET

"Alps—Geographies and People 7": 45 x 61 inches, archival pigment print, edition of six + 3AP



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